

*Presented
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OUR BEST POLICY.



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OUR BEST POLICY.

By Constitutional means, involving the consent of the Mother Country, to bring about the union, on fair and honorable terms, of Canada and the United States.—*Platform of the Association.*

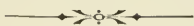
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OUR BEST POLICY.



Nearly 150 years have elapsed since Canada was acquired by Britain. During all that time Britain has done her best for us. Her treasury has paid millions of pounds for our military protection, and her investors have supplied loans for the development of the country with so free a hand that to-day, on public and private account, we owe them a thousand million dollars. It is sometimes said that she has sacrificed Canadian interests in diplomatic squabbles with the United States; that she gave away invaluable seaboard rather than fight, pool-pooled the Fenian raid claims, and let the Americans get hold of Alaska. The answer is, briefly, that she could not help it. Her own interests are world-wide, and if she is to continue to bear on her shoulders the "too vast orb of her fate," it is obvious that she cannot afford to plunge into war every time a colony considers itself aggrieved. Taking everything into account, she has been a truly generous parent to Canada. None acknowledge this more cordially than the advocates of the Political Union of Canada and the United States. Paradoxical as it may appear to some, they take their stand on that measure because they believe it would redound to her well-being no less than to the well-being of Canada.

First of all, let us see how Canada would be affected. If this is not, as Dominion Day orators pretend, the best half of the continent, it is, to say the least, a land of great possibilities. How is it that by comparison with the rate of progress, not in the United States as a whole, but merely in individual States lying close by, our development has been so painfully slow? In 1830, Upper Canada had a population half as large again as that of Illinois. Now, the population of Illinois is nearly twice that of Upper Canada. Yet, as Mr. Larned said in a report to the Treasury at Washington, this province is "one of the most favored spots of the continent, where population ought to breed with almost Belgian fecundity." Since 1830, New York State has added four millions to its population, Pennsylvania four, Ohio nearly three, and the entire American North-West has come into existence with several millions more, not to speak of the South-West with such populous commonwealths as Texas and Kansas, or of California. Again, our seaboard provinces possess an abundance of timber, fish, coal, iron, and good farming land, and Britain spent a pretty penny in promoting their settlement. Nevertheless, their united population

is not much over one-third of that of Massachusetts, who, if she had the start of them in point of time, cannot boast of anything like their natural advantages. It is the same story in our newer regions. Over \$100,000,000 of public money has been spent on the North-West, but, as Mr. Blake said, it is "empty still." The white population from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean, that is, in New Ontario, Manitoba, the Territories and British Columbia, is not as large as that of Dakota, which started even with Manitoba, both being mere hunting grounds, in 1870. The numerical increase in Minnesota alone in the last census decade was almost as great as the numerical increase in the entire Dominion.

Of course while we remain a colony we cannot hope to get our full share of emigrants. As a general thing, those who pack up and leave the Old World want to have done with it once for all. The prime cause of our trouble, however, as all impartial observers perceive, is economic. We are cut off from the commercial and industrial life of the continent to which we belong, shut up within ourselves and left, so to speak, in a state of siege, with the result that we cannot make the most of our labor and resources. Take the richest group of States in the Union, divorce them in like manner from the rest by a double row of tariffs, and they would soon resemble us in exhibiting signs of atrophy and decay. One of the principal arguments for Confederation was that it would abolish the interprovincial tariffs and make one market of all Canada. (a) It requires no great wisdom to see that the benefits derived would bear no comparison with those which would accrue from the conversion into one market of the whole continent. We have had some experience in that line. We have tried four different trade policies—preferential trade with England, reciprocity in natural products with the United States, a revenue tariff, protection; and it is allowed on all hands that the reciprocity period was the period of greatest prosperity in our history. It is true the Anti-Slavery war and the inflated currency had the effect of

(a) The argument which perhaps appealed most strongly to younger Canadians at that time was the argument that Confederation would be the first step towards forming a new nationality. Stress was also laid on the value of Confederation for military defence. On this point Bolton and Webber, officers of the Royal Artillery, said in a pamphlet:—"No people was ever so unfortunately situated as regards defence as are the Canadians. No country except Canada is one-sided. She has a front, but no back. The small existing stream of immigration flows westward. The further we go west, the thinner we find is the population. The strength of British North America is that of a fishing rod." Writing against Confederation in 1866, Mr. Howe, of Nova Scotia, dealt with the new nationality idea thus:—"They (Upper and Lower Canada) are perplexed with an internal antagonism which was fatal to the union of Belgium and Holland and which, unless the fusion of races becomes rapid and complete, must ever be a source of weakness. They are shut in by frost from the outer world for five months of the year. They are at the mercy of a powerful neighbor, whose population already outnumbered her by more than eight to one, and who a quarter of a century hence will probably present sixty-eight millions to six millions on the opposite side of a naturally defenceless frontier. It is evident that a more unpromising nucleus of a new nation can hardly be found on the face of the earth." Mr. Howe made a pretty fair guess. In 1890 the United States had 63,000,000 people, Canada in 1891 had 4,800,000.

artificially augmenting prices in the United States from 1861 to 1865; on the other hand, the reciprocity was but a partial free trade, confined to natural products. We could not exchange our barley freely for American implements or American factory goods of any kind, nor sell them our manufactures, nor take part with our large marine of those days in the American coasting trade, nor give foreign capital seeking investment any assurance that the treaty, and with it our roaring profits, would last beyond the allotted term.

The early British Governors did not care to let Canadians come in contact with Americans at all. They sincerely desired to see the colony prosper, but were more desirous that it should remain British. Intercourse with the United States they regarded as dangerous. Under the preferential trade system the products of Canada and other colonies were admitted to the British market at lower customs duties than similar products from foreign countries. The products of one colony had also a preference in the market of another. In return Britain adjusted the colonial tariffs in the interest, as was supposed, of the British manufacturer and artisan. Our modern imperial federationists declare that it was an ideal arrangement, and would like to see it revived for the sake of imperial unity. As a matter of fact, it was a bad policy for the colonies and worse for Britain. Canada and the West Indies got more for their wheat, flour, timber and sugar in the British market than the foreigner because the duty on their wares was less than the duty on his, but it was at the expense of the British people, who had to pay more for their food and raw material than they need to have paid, and were hindered from selling their manufactures to the foreigner besides. That the colonies suffered was no wonder, for this Plantation policy was devised, not for their good, but solely, as was imagined, for the good of the Mother Country. It was a survival from the age when colonies were valued simply as dumping grounds for the metropolitan trader. The West India planters were constantly complaining that they had to pay more for Canadian flour and barrel staves than the price in the United States, whilst the Navigation Laws, designed to benefit British shipping, oppressed them with another monopoly. Canada's chief grievance was that she could not manufacture. In the language of a noted Upper Canada protectionist, the policy "keeps the provinces stationary," "inundates them with British manufactures and drains them of all their raw produce, of all the money expended in improvements, of all the money disbursed by Great Britain, of all the money brought by emigrants, and leaves them still in debt." (a) Montreal and Quebec

(a) Mr. J. W. Gamble (at one time M.P.P.), to Lord Grey, 1841, No. 16, Kinastord Collection, Parliament Library, Toronto. See also address of House of Assembly of Upper Canada in 1836 complaining of the Navigation Laws and the high duties on foreign goods, and asking for reciprocity with the United States in wheat, flour and other articles.

merchants did pretty well for themselves by forwarding American produce to England and palming it off as Canadian by means of forged certificates of origin. But if the system was vicious and demoralising, it had the effect of checking intercourse between Canada and the United States, which was deemed necessary politically. Yet the Canadian settler felt instinctively that free trade between him and his near neighbor would benefit both, and at a very early period (1816) began to clamor for reciprocity. As soon as England adopted free trade, she set to work at Washington and got it. The person just quoted predicted that Canadian farmers "would be crowded out of their own markets by the free admission of American live stock, pork, butter and cheese." He was agreeably disappointed. They thrived as they had never done before or since. So did the lumberman, miner and fisherman and the country at large. Writing shortly after the treaty took effect, William Lyon Mackenzie said it afforded "at all seasons a steady, quick and active cash demand for all the products of the farm and forest." The exports of the port of Toronto rose 60 per cent. in a twelvemonth. The imports of Oswego from Upper Canada increased in the same space from three to twelve million dollars. In their memorandum (1874) to Secretary Fish, Sir Edward Thornton and Mr. George Brown said:—"The grand fact remains that under the operation of the treaty of 1854, the aggregate interchange of commodities between the Republic and the Provinces rose from an annual average of \$14,000,000 in the previous eight years to \$33,500,000, gold currency, in the first year of its existence; to \$43,000,000, gold currency, in the second year; to \$50,000,000 in the third; and to no less a sum than \$84,000,000, at war prices, in its thirteenth year." The exports of the United States to Canada, during the treaty, came to as much as the exports of the United States to China, Japan, Brazil, Italy, Hayti, Russia, Venezuela, Austria, the Argentine Republic, Denmark, Turkey, Portugal, the Sandwich Islands and the Central American States, all put together. The population of Canada increased more rapidly than it has done since. The people had lucrative employment in the development of their resources; emigrants from Europe were attracted; the native Canadian was not driven from home by the necessity of finding work. Our political literature during that period is largely taken up with commendation of the treaty. The only fault found with it was that it did not go far enough. Nova Scotia wanted access for her wooden ships to the American register and the American coasting trade. The views of business men in Upper and Lower Canada were expressed in the Canadian Merchants' Magazine for 1858 in an article complaining that owing to the temporary and limited character of

the reciprocity capitalists did not care to invest in manufacturing in Canada but preferred manufacturing on the American side where the largest market was; whereas with complete free trade between the two countries, Canada, having unlimited water power and lying geographically in the centre of the most populous part of the Union, would attract capital, and if free trade "could be accomplished by raising our tariff as against European manufactures to a level with that of the United States the boon would be cheaply acquired." When abrogation was talked of the Canadian Privy Council addressed a note to the British Government in which it said:—"It would be impossible to express in figures, with any approach to accuracy, the extent to which the facilities of commercial intercourse created by the Reciprocity Treaty have contributed to the wealth and prosperity" of Upper and Lower Canada; "and it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance which the people of Canada attach to the continued enjoyment of these facilities." In 1849, a movement in favor of political union had been started at Montreal, chiefly on the ground that reciprocity could not be got, and, if got, would be only temporary, whereas Political Union would give Canadians permanent access to the United States market. The Privy Council spoke of the "connection which is usually found to exist between the material prosperity and the political contentment of a people," and declared that largely owing to the "unrestricted commerce with our nearest neighbors in the natural productions of the two countries, all agitation for organic changes has ceased, all dissatisfaction with existing political relations has wholly disappeared."

Since the abrogation of the Treaty in 1866, we have made persistent efforts to have it restored. Sir John Macdonald did what he could during the Washington Treaty negotiations and on several occasions afterwards. The so-called National Policy was put forward, when coaxing them had failed, as a means of coercing the Americans. Our harsh interpretation of the fishery articles of the treaty of 1818 was adopted long ago for a like purpose, and has been maintained ever since in the hope that Congress may be worried into yielding at least reciprocity in fish. The Liberals have been as active as the Conservatives in trying to re-establish reciprocity. In 1870 they as good as declared for Commercial Union. In 1874, Mr. George Brown arranged a mixed treaty with Mr. Fish, certain manufactures being included with natural products, but it did not pass the United States Senate. In 1888 they adopted "unrestricted reciprocity" as their platform. It was Commercial Union under an alias and would probably have won them the general elections of 1891 had not Sir John Macdonald pretended to be carrying on

negotiations with Mr. Blaine for a limited reciprocity like that of 1854-66. Their present platform calls for reciprocity without the adjective, and their opponents profess, no doubt honestly, to be still anxious for the limited form.

A glance at the map convinces even observers at a distance that nature designed the two countries to be one commercially. (a) A line drawn from the top of Minnesota to the top of Maine includes nearly all the inhabited portion of the two oldest provinces. Maine projects like a wedge to within forty miles of the Lower St. Lawrence, leaving the Maritime Provinces within the New England area. Ontario projects like a wedge 400 miles south into American territory. It and Quebec are separated from the seaboard provinces by a long stretch of barren land, from Manitoba by a freshwater sea and a thousand miles of rock and muskeg, while Manitoba in turn is separated from British Columbia by the Rocky Mountains. The Dominion is thus broken up geographically into four blocks, each of which, if let alone, would find its natural market in the States adjoining it to the south. Ontario would not deal with Nova Scotia or Manitoba so much as with New York, Pennsylvania, Michigan, Ohio and Illinois, which contain twenty million customers right at her door. She can talk to some of them by telephone, and reach them all by rail or water in a few hours. Buffalo has as many inhabitants as there are between Lake Superior and the Rocky Mountains; Chicago nearly twice as many as there are in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. Yet in order to get trade, Ontario, the milch-cow of Confederation, has allowed herself to be sundered from those rich markets and saddled with gigantic burdens for a railway to Manitoba and another all the way to Cape Breton. The case of Manitoba is almost as absurd. That fine province is the northern projection of the Great Prairie of the United States, and its interests demand free trade with its nearest markets at Minneapolis and Chicago. But it is cut off from the rest of the Great Prairie and forced to deal with markets three days off by rail, to reach which its products have to pay exorbitant transportation rates to make up for the company's loss in operating in the sterile region traversed *en route*. The return freights of merchandise have to run the same gauntlet. Crops like barley and potatoes, which grow luxuriantly, can scarcely be raised at a profit because they are unable to bear

(a) Lord Farrer, formerly Permanent Secretary of the Government Board of Trade in England, says in his "Free Trade v. Fair Trade":—"Canada and England are separated by the Atlantic; Canada and the United States are distinguished rather than separated by a bridged and navigable river, or by an imaginary line. Trade between England and Canada has to overcome natural difficulties; trade between Canada and the United States would be unchecked but for artificial difficulties. The people of Canada and the United States are similar in race, in language, in habits, and are becoming more so daily." Again, "The United States and Canada are meant by nature to do business freely with one another. An artificial barrier between them is to the eyes of common sense, as of political philosophy, absurd and unnatural."

the rate to Ontario and are excluded from the United States by a duty. Cattle are sent from the ranches on the foot-hills to Toronto when a better price could be got at Chicago. It is much the same with the seaboard provinces. They could take their produce by sea to Boston in a few hours and exchange it for cheap manufactures. Instead of that they are compelled to pay a duty on entering Boston, to return empty, and procure dear manufactures from the distant markets of Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton, which buy nothing from them but a few canned lobsters. The duty at Boston prevents them from making the most of their fisheries. A Dominion official reports the Prince Edward Islanders as asking what is the use of catching spring herring when they cannot sell them at a profit. New England is the natural market for their coal and iron. But because Congress shuts them out, they conceived the idea of shutting the manufacturing Province of Ontario out of *her* natural markets for coal and iron in Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois, and making her tributary to them, as if an injury inflicted upon her would compensate the Dominion for the injury inflicted upon themselves. But the Ontario manufacturer continues in spite of the Canadian duty to get all his coal and most of his iron from the neighboring States, so that Nova Scotia gets but little additional trade and such as it is she has to pay through the nose for it along with the farmers of Ontario and Manitoba in the enhanced cost of his goods.

Hatred of the United States was rife among the U. E. Loyalists who first peopled Upper Canada. Had the Americans, indeed, as in their Civil War, treated the beaten side magnanimously, the schism in the English-speaking race on this continent would probably have been healed long ago. Confederation, which was to have reduced the cost of government, has considerably increased it, and the federal, provincial and municipal office-holders of high and low degree now constitute a formidable host, adverse to any policy likely to bring us too close to our neighbors and thus to put their own craft in danger. This element and the Orange Society, misused by bad leaders for political objects, fabricate such hostile public opinion with reference to the United States as finds expression on platforms and in the press. But it is not the genuine opinion of the mass of the Canadian people, who are exceedingly friendly to Americans. Why not? A million native-born Canadians are over there. There is scarcely a farm-house from Lake Superior to the Gulf of St. Lawrence that has not a vacant chair for the boy or girl away in New England or the West, whose loss to the Dominion is but poorly compensated for by importations from English workhouses. The cry of the office-holder and of the protected manufacturer, who dreads American competition, that Brit-

ish connection would suffer from Commercial Union because Commercial Union would involve tariff discrimination against British goods, has, no doubt, had its effect upon the Liberals, who have an army of provincial office-holders in their own ranks and a titled Tory at the head of the Legislature of Ontario. Nevertheless the old longing for free access to the United States market is as strong as ever among those engaged in the natural industries and among many of the better class of manufacturers. It was the passion for trade of Scotchmen, more perhaps than anything else, that brought about the union with England. Now that Canadians are beginning to see that the United States is not disposed to give them all the material advantages of American citizenship unless they are prepared to assume its responsibilities at the same time, the feeling in favor of Political Union is growing. Much was hoped for from Mr. Cleveland and the Democrats, but they have done little beyond freeing lumber and reducing the duties on coal, iron ore and a few farm products, which the Patrons say has benefited the Ontario farmer more than he was ever benefited by the Dominion Parliament. Apparently the Republicans stand where they did when Mr. Blaine declared that if there was to be a common market there must be a common flag. (a)

In one of their addresses the Political Unionists of 1849 quoted a French Canadian priest as saying that there were then 200,000 native Canadians in the United States. "When a man turns his back upon his country," said this priest, "and with moistened eye bids it adieu, it is because something essential has been wanting to him in that country—bread, room or liberty." The exodus is a process of selection which leaves the unfittest to survive. An invader who had overrun us could not do worse than exact a yearly tribute of the choicest men and women. About 800,000 European emigrants were reported as settling in the Dominion in 1881-91, but the actual gain in numbers was only 500,000, so that a multitude equal to the entire natural increase, (say 600,000) plus 300,000 of the newcomers had gone across the line in those ten years. The figures of the United States census giving the number of native Canadians over there are silent about the number of European-born citizens who have made Canada a half-way house. These are credited, not to Canada, but to the countries of their origin. Apologists point to the movement of population from New England. But those who leave New England are not lost to the United States; they do not come to Canada or go to South America, but merely transfer their labor and capital to

(a) See the speech by Mr. Higgins in the United States Senate, June 14th, 1894. In the House of Representatives, June 1st, 1889, Mr. Bowman of Massachusetts made a suggestion which unfortunately was not acted on. "A permanent policy in regard to our trade with Canada should now," he said, "be adopted. It is for the interest of each country that it should now know what to expect in the future."

other parts of the Republic where they can be employed to better advantage. In our case the movement is a dead loss. The fusion of the two peoples is going on in spite of political boundaries, only with things as they are Canada is being bled to death. Sixty years ago Lord Durham was pained by "the striking contrast presented by the American and British sides of the frontier line in respect of every sign of productive industry, increasing wealth and productive civilization;" it was "the theme of every traveller who visits these countries and who observes on one side the abundance and on the other the scarcity of every sign of material prosperity." This mortifying contrast remains—Detroit and Windsor, Buffalo and St. Catharines, Toronto and Chicago, Rochester and Kingston, Quebec, Montreal and New York, Halifax and Boston, San Francisco and Victoria, etc. It is a sad sight but sadder than all is the headlong flight of population, almost unknown in Lord Durham's day, from a new country teeming with potential wealth, which cannot be converted into actual wealth by Canadian labor simply because we are not sufficiently true to Canadian interests to seek and find our natural market.

Five-sixths of our mineral exports go to the United States notwithstanding the tariff wall. There is no profitable market for them worth speaking of elsewhere. Till the United States market is permanently free, they can never be properly developed. The American iron mines on Lake Superior will ship over eight million tons of ore (1895) to American furnaces, giving employment to an army of skilled and unskilled workmen and fleets of vessels. The deposits on the Canadian shore, said to be equally rich, are unworked; the Canadians who should be working them are employed on the others. Our lake marine, once considerable, has been crippled by exclusion from the American coasting trade. If the American market were free the annual value of our fishery products could be doubled easily; the present duties not merely reduce the selling price of the Canadian fish carried to Boston, but render it unprofitable for the fishermen to catch the cheaper kinds. The lumbermen enjoy free lumber under the existing American tariff, but the arrangement may be terminated any day by Congress, and lack of permanence is a grave drawback in every business. The Ontario farmer knows that if we were joined to the United States he could get a better price for his products, and the British market would still be as wide open to him as it is now. By comparison with free trade with the United States, which would give him more for what he has to sell and charge him less for what he has to buy, the proposed reciprocity with distant British colonies like Australia and South Africa would not be much better than recipro-

city with Mars or Saturn. It would not be necessary to spend several millions on cables and fast steamers to reach the States, with ten or twelve times as many customers. Mr. David A. Wells reckons that every four and a half million Americans effect exchanges among themselves and with the rest of the population, by the agency of railroads alone, to the amount of a thousand millions annually, and wants to know how many new spindles, engines, hammers and human arms would be required in the States and Canada at that rate if the tariff barriers between the two were taken down. Mr. Wells favors Commercial Union on other than economic grounds; a common market, he says, would bring about a better feeling. Some ultra-loyalists allow that Political Union would improve our material wellbeing but say we should be contaminated by American politics. What of Canadian politics? To quote Mr. Goldwin Smith: "A number of provinces destitute alike of geographical unity, of unity of race, and of unity of commercial interest, and connected only by a nominal allegiance to a distant throne, have to be held together so as to form a basis for government, and at the same time to be kept separate from the continent of which, by nature, they are parts." Such is the task confronting the Canadian politician, and, as we all know, he makes it a regular business to corrupt provinces, races, religious sects, constituencies and individuals with their own money. The cohesive power of plunder is practically the only binding force that can be invoked.

The office-holder, Liberal or Tory, is, of course, an optimist. He is satisfied with things as they are and seeks to encourage the taxpayer who has to maintain him with glowing predictions of a future that never is but always is to be. How many times in the last five and twenty years has Canada been on the eve of becoming the most prosperous country on the face of earth? Every large undertaking is heralded as the long-looked for talisman, is carried out at an excessive cost on account of the boddling, affords the contractors and perhaps a Minister or two a chance to make their pile, is the occasion of somebody being knighted, and is then discovered to be no great benefit after all, possibly even a fresh burden. Viewed as a means of attracting population and promoting trade, it is frequently no better than a hole in the ground. What have we got by building the Intercolonial and subsidising a host of minor railways in the seaboard provinces? In the last census decade the population of those provinces only increased from 870,000 to 880,000 or one and a quarter per cent. The three legislatures have nearly bankrupted themselves by spending money on internal improvements, and a great deal of English capital has been wasted, in addition to a Dominion outlay of \$50,000,000; but all for nothing

except that the people, the lees remaining after the exodus, have been bribed into a sulky acquiescence which passes for loyalty to Confederation. What have we got from the North-West on which \$125,000,000 of public money and a vast amount of private capital have been spent? The sales of land were to have netted an immense sum; by 1891 the Federal debt was to have been reduced in consequence to \$100,000,000. Instead of that it is \$250,000,000, the receipts from land have not been sufficient to pay the cost of surveys and management, and the slender population is not in a contented frame of mind. So far as the Ontario farmer is concerned, the opening of the North-West has been a distinct loss. His taxes have been augmented by the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the selling value of his land diminished by the migration of neighbors, his local market swamped at times by cheap produce. There may be something in the argument that the Canadian Pacific is of advantage to Britain as a spare route to India, but he, at least, is not benefitted in the slightest. Nor has the road helped to solidify Canada. It is now quite as much an American as a Canadian institution. Its line traverses the State of Maine on the east and works with American ports both summer and winter. In the centre it has acquired and built lines to enable it to carry its transcontinental traffic through Minnesota and thus escape the haul across the uninhabitable wilderness north of Lake Superior, which some of these days will probably be abandoned. Having to secure American freight in order to live it charges lower rates between Minneapolis and Boston or New York than between Winnipeg and Old Canada, that is, discriminates against Canada. Lastly, it is completely at the mercy of the United States. A ten-line order excluding it from American soil, say for violation of the Interstate Commerce law, would wind it up and Confederation along with it. The managers of the road did what they could to maintain it in its original rôle of an all-Canadian route serving Canadian interests first, last and always, but geography proved too much for them.

The canals on which \$60,000,000 has been spent were of far more service in the early days when there were no railroads than now. The Rideau was constructed by the Imperial Government to serve as a commercial and military passage between Upper and Lower Canada, its distance from the American frontier being regarded as of importance; but was soon superseded by the more direct route along the St. Lawrence. The same desire to serve imperial and military ends led to the construction of the Intercolonial by a long route since rendered worthless by the building of the short line through Maine. The Welland and lower canals were for a time the only means of reaching tide water from the west. Before their construction the produce of

Western Ontario was shipped on Lake Erie to the Welland river, conveyed as far up as the depth of water would allow, and then portaged to Niagara, where it was reshipped upon Lake Ontario to Prescott, there to be loaded on batteaux that ran the rapids to Montreal. Merchandise was sent westward from Montreal in the same tedious and costly way. But of late, while they afford a cheap route in the season of navigation and thus temper railroad rates, the canals have lost something of their economic importance. For one thing, they are no longer deep enough to accomodate the large American steamers engaged in the upper lakes, and most of the grain from the prairies is transhipped at Buffalo. An international convention at Toronto has asked the United States to provide the money for constructing a 20-foot channel. The sum required is variously estimated but the lowest figure is more than the Dominion could afford to expend on its own account just now, especially as there would be no direct return. It is suggested that the United States should be given a joint control of the canals in return for furnishing the money. A somewhat similar proposition was made by Sir Alexander Galt in 1866. A joint control might work satisfactorily enough, but it would be as Hincks said "pawning the St. Lawrence to the United States," and with it virtually the country. It would be better for both parties to have Political Union. The route would then become what nature intended it to be. It has been said that if Canada had gone with the Thirteen Colonies the Erie canal might never have been built and Montreal would now be one of the first seaports in the world. Erie or no Erie, the St. Lawrence route would certainly have been deepened to 20 feet before this, the Canadian lake marine raised to a flourishing condition, and the lake cities of Canada rendered more like their overshadowing rivals to the south. In that event also it would not have been necessary to spend several millions in building a duplicate of the American canal at the Sault. Nor would any person in his senses have thought of establishing connection with Manitoba across the howling waste north of Lake Superior, or of building the Intercolonial round by the Baie des Chaleurs. We should have fought with nature instead of against her, and run the lines of railroad north and south instead of carrying them east and west through thinly populated regions at an immense outlay which comes back upon the settler in the form of oppressive rates. Altogether we have spent \$260,000,000 on railroads and canals besides giving away an area of wild land larger than many an Old World kingdom. Yet passenger and freight rates average considerably higher in Canada than in the United States, which, man for man, has not spent anything like so much; and, what is more, the United

States has it in its power to raise them within Ontario to a prohibitive scale in winter by simply repealing the bonding privilege. This is part of the heavy price we have to pay for trying to belong to Europe rather than to America.

The cost of maintaining our self-isolation is so great that it is only a question of time till we wear out our welcome in the English money market. To begin with, this is perhaps the most expensively governed community of its size anywhere. Offices were created in early times as rewards for loyalty, and in certain families office-holding has become hereditary. From the first the machinery of government has been far too elaborate; we have all along been preparing for a population that has never come or has not cared to remain. The Governor-General, whose functions are ornamental, gets as large a salary as the President of the United States. Since 1867 he has cost altogether an average of \$115,000 a year (*a*). To keep the various provinces in countenance they have to be represented in the Cabinet by men of their own. They would have no confidence in a Ministry selected for merit without reference to geographical considerations. In like manner it is necessary to placate the French race, the Orange Society, the Roman Catholic Church and other large bodies with seats in the Cabinet for their special representatives. Thus while there are only eight Cabinet officers at Washington there are fourteen or fifteen at Ottawa. The eight sub-vice-regal dignitaries known as lieutenant-governors are better paid than the State governors across the line, and are provided with official residences. The Senate is a fifth wheel, but Quebec and the smaller provinces prize it because it would enable them to hold Ontario in check on questions affecting their local interest. All told, in the Dominion Parliament and the eight local legislatures there are 700 lawmakers, of whom 50 are Ministers of the Crown, for less than five million people. The lieutenant-governors cost \$70,000 a year in salaries alone, the Ottawa Cabinet \$90,000, the High Commissioner in London \$10,000 with princely "sundries." Each of the provinces has its separate local machine manned by regular civil-servants and a horde of officials paid by fees. These fee places—shrievalties, registrarships, and the like—are sinecures much sought after by members of the local legislatures. In Ontario over forty former members of the legislature have been provided for; many have looked after relatives as well. Municipal government is conducted on the same absurdly extravagant scale. The cost of such services as the administration of justice is out of all proportion to the means of the people. In Ontario the county court judges and deputy judges number about

(a) See Mr. Mulock's speech in Parliament, 1895.

70, though fifteen or twenty could do the work easily. (a) The multiplication of offices has served the purpose of keeping up a retinue of actual and expectant officeholders opposed to organic change, and in this way has been useful to British connection. On the other hand, in conjunction with the expenditure of borrowed money on railroads and other enterprises, the system has produced widespread corruption. How far the exodus, by removing the most energetic and independent spirits, is responsible for the weak and flabby condition of the public conscience is a question for philosophers. The colonial status itself is unfavorable to the growth of robust opinion and thus conduces to moral laxity (b). But the prime cause of the bad condition of politics is the rooted provincialism and the impossibility of holding together different races and separate blocks of provinces, which have not nearly as much in common with one another as with the States immediately to the south of them, except by sinister methods. Since 1867 population has increased about 30 per cent., while the expenditure is three times and the debt three and a half times greater than it was then. Government railroads are built to bribe localities, Government bonuses granted and Government buildings erected for the same purpose; then the contractors and bonus-getters are bled for campaign funds and allowed to recoup themselves out of "extras" or by scamping. Ministers do not hesitate to carry the hat round among protected manufacturers and to disburse the proceeds. Members secure timber-limits for themselves or bonuses for roads in which they are interested as promoters, or Government loans for other private undertakings. Sometimes they are directly interested in Government contracts. The punishment of a boodler is a rare occurrence. One member has been sent to jail, but he was soon released and re-elected to the House at the first vacancy; another who was expelled was shortly afterwards elected mayor of the city in

(a) A paper on municipal taxation by Mr. G. H. Grierson, published in the minutes of the County Council of the County of Ontario for 1893, gives interesting particulars of the bloated condition of the municipal and provincial services.

(b) In his "Colonies of England" Mr. Roebuck ("Tear 'em") said:—"The career that lies between two men, one of whom has been born and lives upon the southern shore of the St. Lawrence, and the other on the north of that river, is a striking example of the observation here made. The one is a citizen of the United States, the other a subject of England, a Canadian colonist. The one has a country which he can call his own, and a great country already disengaged in arms, in arts, and in some degree in literature. In his country's honor and fame the American has a share, and he enters upon the career of his life with lofty aspirations, hoping to achieve fame for himself in some of the many paths to renown which his country affords. She has a senate, an army, a navy, a bar, many powerful and wealthy churches; her men of science, her physicians, philosophers, are all a rational brotherhood, giving and receiving distinction. How galling to the poor colonist is the contrast to this which his inglorious career affords! He has no country—the place where he was born and where he has to linger out his life unknown to fame, has no history, no past glory, no present renown. What there is of none is England's. Canada is not a nation, she is a colony, the satellite of a mighty star in whose brightness she is lost. Canada has no navy, no army, no literature, no brotherhood of science. If then a Canadian looks for honor in any of these various fields he must seek it as an Englishman; he must forget and desert his country before he can be known to fame." As a matter of fact he seeks it as an American. Canadians distinguished in the pulpit or as scholars, journalists, inventors, athletes, etc., usually cross the line.

which he resides. American politics are not over-pure, but at any rate the guilty are punished and the re-election of a convicted rascal is a thing unheard of. The electors refuse in some places to vote with their party till they are paid, or till the Government buys them *en bloc*, and value a member according to his success in raiding the treasury for their benefit. The corruption is not all on one side; nepotism is as rife in the Ontario Legislature as at Ottawa, while the exploits of Quebec Liberals have never been surpassed. It is frequently said that the return to office of the Pacific Scandal culprits was the cause of the wholesale corruption that now prevails. No doubt that event made matters worse, but corruption was rife long before. In fact, it was inherent and inevitable in a community so situated.

The Federal debt of Canada is now \$50 per head, the Federal debt of the United States \$14. The individual provinces owe far more in proportion to population than the individual States. The latter are in many instances prohibited by their constitutions from contracting debts at all, or above a certain figure, but with us the provinces have full fling, the only limit to their borrowing being the patience of the lender. It is true the Federal debt of the United States was incurred for powder and shot, whilst ours has been for the most part incurred ostensibly for internal development; but we should not lose sight of the material gain to the United States from the abolition of slavery and the introduction of modern industrialism into a region so greatly favored by nature as the South. The plan of furnishing the provinces with yearly subsidies from the Federal treasury, instead of compelling them to pay their own way out of their own resources as is the case in the United States, has been attended with mischievous consequences. They have squandered money with both hands and then unloaded their debts on the Dominion. Just now all, with one exception, are in deep water financially and another resort to "better terms" must soon be had. Municipal indebtedness is also exceedingly heavy. The aim of the Dominion, provincial and municipal governments has been to keep step in material progress with the United States, regardless of the fate of the frog which desired to swell itself to the proportions of the ox. Economy is almost out of the question. To withdraw the stimulus of large expenditures would be to produce enervation and decay as well as to breed political discontent. Continental Union, by pooling our Federal debt with that of the United States, would afford honorable and lasting relief. It would add to the value of real estate, increase the price of fish and farm products to somewhere near the American level, revive lake shipping, and furnish the opportunity now denied of making the most of all our natural

resources and native energy.(a) It would no longer be necessary to administer anesthetics to provinces deprived of their true market, or to combat geography with railroads foreordained to failure. We should then have a country to be proud of, as much so as the American of New York or Illinois, for our new States would be as sovereign as his, and our stake in the national fortunes just as important. Public life, thus elevated, would assume a purer tone. To be a full member of the greater half of the Anglo-Saxon race is surely preferable to being a poor relation of the other half. We could still glory, as all enlightened Americans do, in the past glories of the Mother Country, her literature, her freedom, her civilising mission, and should then be a source of strength to her in time of need instead of a drag as now.

Intelligent observers long ago predicted, on looking at the fierce racial differences in Canada, that the task of maintaining a separate existence would some day prove too irksome. Of course no sensible English-speaking person blames the French-Canadians for remaining French. Many of them wanted to cast in their lot with the Thirteen Colonies, but the Church and the seigniors held them back. Maseres, amongst other proofs, quotes a ballad sung throughout the parishes in ridicule of the bishop, with a British pension in his pocket, who commanded them to fight against the Americans under spiritual pains and penalties. The Church and the seigniors favored monarchy from long association, and were correspondingly afraid of republicanism, especially the republicanism of New England Puritans who had inveighed against the Quebec Act. They also desired to preserve their own special interests, and found that this could be done by alternately wheedling and threatening British statesmen, who did not wish to see the flag wholly disappear from the continent. The French Revolution afterwards gave them a "scunner" of republicanism; it was the demon let loose against property and privilege, and both Mgr. Briand and Mgr. Plessis declared the British conquest to have been a providential deliverance. In a short time the Church possessed greater power and prerogatives than she had enjoyed under the French *regime*, while the seigniors maintained their feudal tenure till 1854, and were then abundantly compensated out of the public treasury. But it cannot be doubted that large num-

(a) The royal commission appointed by the Ontario Government to report on the mineral wealth of that province pointed out that the annual value of the mineral products of the United States is about thirty times greater than the annual value of the mineral products of Canada, and went on to say:—"In the case of the farmer and lumberman, the burdens imposed by trade restrictions are very serious, greatly diminishing the profits of production, preventing expansion of business, promoting the exodus, and in various ways checking the growth of the country in population and wealth. But in the case of some of the departments of mineral production, the effect of restriction has been to produce utter stagnation, and in others a state of suspended animation. The favorable results that would follow the adoption of unrestricted trade between the United States and Canada, as regards the development of the mineral resources of Ontario, can scarcely be estimated, and would beyond doubt far exceed popular anticipation. More than one-half of our mining capital is now American. But it represents only a small fraction of the amount that would speedily seek investment in Ontario if the two countries were commercially one."

bers of the common people would have preferred union with the Americans even as late as 1812. There was nothing in British connection for them; they were hostile to the seigniorial tenure and the clerical tithes, and did not profit nearly as much by the Plantation policy of Britain as they would have profited by free commercial intercourse with New England. At critical moments, such as 1775 and 1812, the Church threw all her influence on the side of the Crown and when the trouble blew over demanded her reward. In 1837, the Gentlemen of the Seminary of St. Sulpice were foremost in loyalty, and influenced Bishop Lartigue to take the ferocious stand he did in refusing rites to the dead, sacraments to the dying rebels. In return, the British Government quieted the title of the seminary to the island of Montreal and the fief of Two Mountains, and thus made it perhaps the richest ecclesiastical corporation in the world. About the same time, as a reward for the loyalty of the Church in general on that occasion, the French parish law was extended to that portion of the Province of Quebec which had previously been under English law, and the consequences to the English-speaking population have been disastrous. (a) The bishop who wrote to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda suggesting that an agent should be employed to influence the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to decide against Manitoba in the school case by telling the committee that a decision favorable to Manitoba would weaken the loyalty of French Canada, was following established usage. The Church has always had influential spokesmen in London, and British ministers have invariably yielded to representations that her loyalty to the empire might be affected if she was not allowed to have her own way. Bishop Gravel made the mistake of taking the Judicial Committee for Downing Street. In Quebec the Church is as good as established by law. (b) Besides the power to tithe and tax, she is on easy terms

(a) The effect of the introduction of the French parish law is described at length by Mr. Robert Sellars in his "History of Huntingdon," etc. Only farms held by Catholics can be tithed and taxed for the building of churches. So long as a farm is owned by a non-Catholic, therefore, it is unproductive to the Church. But when it passes into the hands of a Catholic, it yields a 26th part of the grain towards the priest's salary, and such taxes for building and repairing the local church and the priest's house as the churchwardens may levy. Hence, as soon as the parish law was introduced in the English settlements, "a systematic scheme was inaugurated and is carried on with growing vigor to push out the English-speaking farmers and substitute *habitants*."

(b) As Maseres puts it, the clergy of the Church of England in Britain "are paid for performing its ceremonies and teaching its doctrines by funds assigned to them by the public authority of the State, and in the same sense the Roman Catholic religion may be said to be established in Canada, for a public fund, to wit, the tithes of the Popish parishioners, that is, of 49 out of 50, is assigned to the priest as a maintenance and reward for performing the ceremonies and teaching the doctrines of that religion. I know that some persons have asserted that this measure is not an establishment of the Popish religion in Canada, because the Protestant parishioners are not obliged to pay tithes to the Romish priests. But this affects the *quantum* of the provision for the maintenance of those priests and the religion they are to teach. It is somewhat less ample than it would be if the Protestants were forced to pay the tithes to them as well as the Roman Catholics. But the nature and design of the provision are the same in both cases. It is a fund provided by public authority for the support of priests to exercise and teach the religion of the Church of Rome. And this, I presume, is all that the words, establishment of a religion, naturally and usually import." Maseres, who wrote this in 1775, had been Attorney-General of Quebec under British rule.

with the provincial legislature, which advances money to the religious orders, gives them contracts to manage public asylums and reformatories, exempts her estates from taxation and places education unreservedly under her control. She is defender of the faith and of the faithful in the other provinces. Maseres prepared a scheme for depriving her of a portion of her wealth and restraining her spiritual and political activity. But the British Government was afraid to antagonize her lest she should carry French Canada into the United States. She has gone on adding to her possessions and extending her influence till she is now supreme at Quebec and exceedingly powerful at Ottawa. Round her has grown the French Canadian nationality with a language and literature, ideals and aspirations of its own.

Canada is not one country but two countries in uneasy union. Of late the Gallican clergy in French Canada have been shouldered out by the Ultramontanes, and the race and religious quarrels are growing more frequent and more bitter. Since Confederation there has been a series of controversies in which race and religion have been blended in about equal parts. Riel was the representative of the French race in the North-west, of Des Groseillers, La Verandrye and other French discoverers, but he was also the representative of the Church in his first rebellion. In New Brunswick the abolition of Separate Schools was an attack on the Church, but it was also an attack on the race, a large proportion of the Catholics being French. The abolition of Separate Schools in Manitoba is resented in Quebec quite as much because it seems to be part of a plan for anglicising the French as on religious grounds. The murder of Scott at Fort Garry by order of the Riel party would not have stirred Ontario Orangeism to the depths but for the protection thrown around Riel by the hierarchy. The payment to the Jesuits in Quebec of a large sum as compensation for the escheat of their estates by the British Crown on the dissolution of the society by Pope Clement was regarded as a sort of triumph for the French Canadian race over the first British rulers of the colony, rendered complete by the grant to the Jesuits of a lot of land at Laprairie which had been the Canadian Aldershot of Britain; while the Roman Catholic religion found its victory in the extraordinary use made of the Pope's name in the preamble of the Act. In some cases the controversies at first relate exclusively to religion but sooner or later race is dragged in. In the Guibord case, where the Church undertook to refuse burial, in his own plot, to a French-Canadian printer who had belonged to a banned literary club, the quarrel was one between French Catholics till the Judicial Committee decided against the Church, whereupon the cry was raised that the committee wanted to discredit the

Church in order to anglicise the race. Well-meaning religious bodies in the English provinces maintain missions for converting the French-Canadians to Protestantism, which is likewise put down as an underhand attempt to tamper with the race. The presence of a Roman Catholicism so powerful and so domineering fosters a rank growth of Orangeism and kindred plants, and the conflict goes on unceasingly. Attempts to "promote religious harmony," and "fire the two races with mutual love," by distributing the offices, even Cabinet offices, according to the numerical strength of each result as might be expected in nothing but intrigue and local jobbery. In the North-west rebellion it was not deemed advisable to send the French volunteers to the front or let them mix with the Ontario men. Outside Montreal and Quebec, where the British control the banking, mercantile, shipping, lumber and railroad business, the English settlements in French Canada are doomed.(a.) The French are also crowding across the Ottawa into eastern and northern Ontario, carrying with them their language and parish organization and their solid column in politics, to breed future trouble.

The loyalty of the French Canadian is given not to Britain, which conquered him, but to the Church which has been his faithful friend and protector. For a time the Ultramontanes dreamed of establishing an independent French Canadian republic, regulated like a Spanish American state from Rome. This notion has got its death-blow from the exodus to New England. Therace is now astride the line, the best fourth of it being on American soil. The exodus has carried off a surplus population which otherwise would have found its way to New Brunswick on the east and Ontario and Manitoba on the west, and intensified the race war in those parts. It has to that extent served the interests of peace, but the economic loss to the Dominion has been enormous and French Canada has been embittered. In Quebec, as in Ireland, the emigrant is popularly regarded as a victim of misgovernment; if the *Orangiste* had not persecuted, if Wolfe had never appeared, if French Canada had had fair play, he would have lived happy and died happy beneath his parish steeple. The loss of so many people coupled with the bankruptcy of the provincial treasury through vain efforts to diminish the exodus by multiplying public works, and with the checks which the race has received in New Brunswick and Manitoba, has produced a widespread feeling of irritation. It would not take much to arouse a demand, even among the clergy, for Political Union with the United States. The race, to be sure, would be swallowed

(a.) "Once they controlled seven counties. It is questionable if the next census will show them to be a majority in more than three. The most sanguine person acknowledges that at the existing rate of decrease the extinguishment of the English-speaking farming communities is simply a question of time." "History of Huntington," etc., 1885.

up in that vast English-speaking community. "But," some of the younger *curés* say, "as it is the evident intention of English-speaking Canadians to deprive us of our rights and privileges bit by bit, why not make the grand plunge at once? There, at least, we should have peace and be with our own." The people now consider Political Union their inevitable destiny and are ready for it. They get the French papers published in New England, and are more familiar with American geography than with that of Ontario. There is hardly a family which has not a member or two there, and the influence exerted by the absentees in preparing the minds of their friends by letters and occasional visits is remarkable. Mr. Mercier estimated that by the close of the century there would be fully half as many French Canadians by birth and descent in the United States as in French Canada. It is scarcely necessary to say that if French Canada were to secede the rest of the Dominion could not live apart from the United States. The St. Lawrence is the key of the country and the French would take it with them.

Apart from the wearing friction with British Canada, French Canada is suffering from internal disorders. Politics there is necessarily an overcrowded profession, and as a rule the politicians have to make it pay; hence the universal peculation. There is no such thing as public opinion, although there are plenty of empty conventionalities. The mass of the people are dependent on agriculture and suffer from the taxation of their products at the American frontier. Most of them are too poor to turn to dairying for the British market; moreover the long winter is a bar. They inherit the handiness of the European French, improved perhaps by their indoor work during five or six months of winter, and make capital factory operatives. To stop them from going to New England, the Dominion and Quebec Governments have squandered money on harbors, railways and other enterprises which do not pay running expenses and never will. The community has been thoroughly demoralized, and now that the provincial treasury is empty the conviction that Confederation has been a failure is becoming general. Again, the Church imposes burdens which are beginning to be intolerable. The tithe of every twenty-sixth bushel of cereals is a much heavier tax to-day when prices are low and the soil worn out by over-cropping than formerly. The fabrique tax for erecting and repairing churches was comparatively light under the rule of the easy-going Gallicans, but the Ultramontane *curés* have a mania for building fine churches and manses, and the frequent subdivision of the parishes affords them a field for gratifying it at the *habitant's* expense. The fabrique tax and tithe are a first lien on the soil and hinder the owner from obtaining advances on mort-

gage to carry on improvements. The concentration of great landed properties in the hands of the religious orders, and their exemption in whole or in part from municipal taxation, is another grave evil. In not a few municipalities the value of the exemptions exceeds that of all the property taxed. The excessive "swarming" of the orders themselves and the constant arrival of new ones from Europe add to the load. The orders get no share of the tithe, but manage to thrive. Some conduct industrial establishments and as their machinery and buildings are exempt from taxes and their pauper or criminal labor subsidized by the province, they can undersell the regular wage-earner. There are over seven thousand religious of all kinds, or one for every forty Catholic families. While the peasants of the Saguenay are in want of seed grain, the Seminary of St. Sulpice is lending millions of French Canadian money to build colleges in the United States and other orders are investing in street railways. The ecclesiastical fisc is altogether out of harmony with modern ideas and presses hard upon a community of farmers under a sub-arctic sky who are handicapped by a foreign tariff in selling their coarse products. In answer to the murmuring the hierarchy point to their treaty rights, to the Quebec Act and other parchments, but forget that while, as Bancroft says, you may hold the evanescent mortal to the strict letter of an ancient system you cannot bind an undying race of men with such gyves without producing a convulsion. The Province of Quebec is already in the throes of an economic revolution which will terminate only with the abolition of the ecclesiastical taxes and the confiscation for public purposes of the ecclesiastical estates, said to be worth \$50,000,000.

The strife of races is painfully visible in Parliament from which so-called burning questions are seldom absent. At times it renders the rational discussion of other matters impossible. No one knows when an election campaign begins what the determining issue is to be till the hierarchy have been heard from. It may open with tariff reform or provincial rights when suddenly a religious crusade is begun and the real question before the country obscured or wholly lost sight of. The Dominion Cabinet never knows when a mine may be sprung under its feet in furtherance of some end which the Church or the French race desires to bring about. It may be blackmailed out of millions for Quebec while the division-bell is ringing; a leading member of it may be defeated without warning in his constituency for having held a brief for the Gallicans; all the French ministers may go on strike because the bishops have a grievance in Manitoba. Politics consists in the main of propitiating the hierarchy in order to get the solid vote at its disposal, and the best interests

of the country suffer accordingly. Intelligent French Catholics are as weary as intelligent Protestants of the disheartening game. They have to endure much and would be far better off merged in the Catholic body of the United States, which is at peace with its environment. There is no hope of peace here till Political Union brings it. The English-speaking race is not sufficiently numerous to absorb the French race even if the constitution permitted fusion, which it does not. Mr. Mercier advocated Political Union on the ground that it would give the French Canadians more complete control of their local affairs than they have now, and, above all, end the war of races.^(a.) Britain is blamed by some for having allowed two separate and distinct nationalities to grow up; it is said she ought to have turned the French Canadians into Englishmen while the feat was practicable. Britain sacrificed the unity of Canada to the political connection, just as at a later day she sacrificed its Maine seaboard and its Pacific seaboard. There was nothing else to be done if the connection was to be preserved. The real wellbeing of the colony has always been a secondary consideration, and always must be while the connection lasts. "Canada," says a student of our affairs, "reminds us of a rabbit or a dog in the hands of an experimental anatomist. Like animals doomed to vivisection for the benefit of science, she has been operated upon unsparingly for the good of the empire."^(b)

Galt, Blake, Huntington and other Canadians native to the soil once attempted to arouse a national feeling. The Canada First party labored in the same cause. "The title of colonist," said Mr. Cauchon, "implies nothing criminal or dishonorable in itself, nevertheless we feel that it humiliates us because it means infancy, subjection, guardianship." Mr. Blake described Canadians as five millions of Britons not free.

The arguments for independence are to be found, without going further, in our commercial disabilities. We cannot make a commercial treaty with a foreign nation without taking in Britain, who does the negotiating, and extending our concessions to countries with which she has favored-nation arrangements covering the colonies. Under such conditions, of course, foreign nations do not care to treat with us. Why should Americans, for instance, be expected to grant to Britain everything they are prepared to give to Canada in return for special concessions from Canada?

(a) *L'Avenir du Canada*, 1893, Mr. Mercier sums up the national advantages which Political Union would bring to French Canada. There would be a rush of population and capital to the province; the farmer would get more for his produce; it would then be possible to develop the minerals, water power, etc. He came to the conclusion that the *status quo* could not be maintained much longer, the arrangement between the two races having broken down as plainly appears from the incessant collisions.

(b) "Quirks of Diplomacy." See also Mr. Sandford Fleming's history of the Intercolonial, where the Maine boundary question is dealt with, and Mr. W. A. Weir on "What Treaties have done for Canada."

The case is well stated by Mr. Bowman of Massachusetts in a speech already quoted from. "We in the United States," he said, "made fish free to Canadians because, as a consideration, we received the right of fishing in Canadian waters. Can England or France, Germany or the Hawaiian Islands come in and say that we are therefore bound to make fish free to them? That cannot be maintained for a moment. We reply to those countries that when they can do for us exactly what Canada does, or as much as Canada does, they will have claims on our consideration, but until then they have none." Britain herself makes treaties with foreign countries that do not apply to or include Canada, and would consider it impertinent for us to say that she was discriminating against us, but we are not at liberty to reverse the process and make treaties that do not include Britain. Here again, however, one cannot blame Britain. The statesmen of last century used to say there were only three ways in which a colony could be of advantage—by furnishing troops, by contributing to the imperial revenues, or by affording a profitable commerce. We have never furnished troops to Britain or contributed to her revenues. For all her anxiety and expenditure on behalf of Canada she gets nothing but the scant privilege of trading with us on the same terms as foreign countries, and if in furtherance of our own interests we were to make a bargain with the United States whereby she was placed on a second-best footing her manufacturers and artisans would, no doubt, have a right to complain. The political connection is to blame; it does her no good and stands in the way of our material advancement. Some day it may even expose us to attack from the fleets of France and Russia, without our having the slightest interest in the matter at issue, and let no Englishman be deceived by the after-dinner assurance that we should "spend our last shilling and our last man in defence of the empire." It is no reflection on the fighting qualities of Canadians, or on the love they bear to Britain, to say that they would do nothing of the sort. They could not afford to do it. The mere prospect of having to pay war premiums on our foreign commerce would injure trade and increase the exodus to the United States; a proposal to equip an army corps for beyond sea, or even to add to the taxes for home defence, would probably convert the exodus into a stampede. In a war with France, no one can tell what might happen in French Canada. We are handicapped in many ways as it is as compared with the United States, but to involve ourselves in a European war would be suicide.

The nationalist movement died because it is impossible for a common sentiment to take root in a community 70 per cent. British, 30 per cent. French. Since then the public debt has grown tremendously, our railroad system is more beholden to the

good will of Congress, and it is more than ever apparent that the accumulating problems of race and religion are beyond solution by ourselves.

No one in Canada advocates violent rupture of the connection with Britain.(a) There is nothing disloyal in seeking separation in the interest of Canada and Britain alike, with the consent of both. "To be deprived of Canada by force," said an English paper in 1849, "and the connivance of the United States, would be humiliation indeed, but to yield it up of our own free will would be but a small sacrifice. We question, indeed, whether it would not be a gain." Mr. Gladstone's forecast may or may not have been realised already(b), but in any event England would profit in the highest sense by complete reconciliation with the United States. As long, however, as she holds Canada there cannot be complete reconciliation. "Suppose Scotland," says Mr. Goldwin Smith, "were a dependency of the United States and an outpost of American democracy in the realm which monarchy and democracy deem their own; suppose the Americans were always proclaiming that they hoped by means of this political footing in Great Britain to prevent the consolidation of British power, and to preserve the island from falling entirely under the dominion of English institutions. Suppose the Scottish democracy were to outvie, as they certainly would do, the people of the mother country in their anti-monarchical and anti-aristocratic demonstrations. Surely there would be in England, at least among the Conservative classes, a feeling against the Americans which it would take a great many professions of amity, a great many busts and dirges, a very liberal contribution to the world-fairs of England on the part of the Americans to allay."(c) It is

(a) In an address to the people in 1849 the Political Unionists of that day said:—"We were always persuaded that the people of Great Britain would consent to allow the separation which we desired without which consent we would consider it neither practicable nor desirable." In 1849 the Legislature of Vermont passed the following resolution: "That the annexation of Canada to the United States, with the consent of the British Government and of the people of Canada, and upon just and honorable terms, is an object in the highest degree desirable to the people of the United States. It would open a wide and fertile field to the enterprise and industry of the American people; it would extend the boundaries and increase the power of our country; it would enlist a brave, industrious and intelligent people under the flag of our nation; it would spread wide the liberal principles of republican government and promote the preponderance of free institutions in the Union. We therefore trust that our National Government, in the spirit of peace and courtesy to both the British Government and the people of Canada, will adopt all proper and honorable means to secure the annexation of Canada to the United States." That the entrance of Canada would have promoted the preponderance of free institutions within the United States seems to have been perceived by the South. At any rate it was commonly believed in Canada that the reciprocity treaty of 1854 was passed by Southern influence in order to check the growing desire in Canada for annexation, and, as Sir John Macdonald admitted in 1865, it had that effect. The manifesto of the Political Unionists of 1849, with the address just quoted from, the Vermont resolution, opinions of the British press and other interesting matter were published in a British parliamentary return, "Papers relating to the removal of the seat of government and to the Annexation Movement."

(b) In the article, "Kin beyond Sea," in the *North American Review* for 1878, he said:—"There can hardly be a doubt as between the America and the England of the future that the daughter at some no very distant date will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably stronger than the mother. *O matre forti filia fortior.*"

(c) "Canada and the Canadian Question." This admirable statement of the position of Canada is issued gratis by the Continental Union Association, Toronto.

hardly necessary to tell British investors in Canada that they would benefit considerably by the union of the poorer country with the richer. Amongst other things, they would be spared the risk of seeing the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific, built with their money, excluded from American soil and left with the insufficient traffic produced within Canada. The British artisan and manufacturer would do more trade with Canada owing to the improved condition of the people. In the last twenty years (1875-94), the aggregate trade of Britain with Canada and Newfoundland has only increased from £19,900,000 to £20,300,000, while her aggregate trade with the United States has risen from £95,000,000 to £120,000,000. (a) The emigrant from Britain would lose nothing; even now he prefers the United States. (b) There would be an end of the irritating controversies between the two branches of the English-speaking race over such paltry issues as codfish and fur seals. The great schism of the race would be healed, and on this continent John Bright's vision would be fulfilled:—"I see one vast confederation stretching from the frozen north in unbroken line to the glowing south, and from the wild billows of the Atlantic to the calmer waters of the Pacific main—and I see one people, and one language, and one law, and one faith, and, over all that wide continent, the home of freedom, and a refuge for the oppressed of every race and every clime."

(a) It is said by Imperial Federationists that British trade with the Colonies is larger, man for man, than British trade with foreign countries including the United States. This is true and there are reasons for it, amongst them that, man for man, the colonists are greater borrowers from Britain than foreigners. In "Retaliation and Commercial Federation" Lord Farrer says:—"The real question for us (Englishmen) is not the amount of trade per man but the aggregate amount of trade, including not only the actual amount of trade at the present moment, but the recent progress of trade as indicating its probable future." The argument of Imperial Federationists that Britain's trade with the Colonies is increasing faster than her trade with foreign countries, ergo it would pay her to levy tariff discrimination against foreign and in favor of colonial products—that is, revive the Plantation policy—is founded on a misapprehension. Lord Farrer shows by tables, going back to 1854, that her trade with foreign countries is as large in proportion as it ever was. It constitutes 75 per cent. of Britain's total commerce. In his reply to the resolutions of the Intercolonial Conference at Ottawa, Lord Ripon pointed out that it would be impossible for Britain to revert to the old policy without most disastrous results to herself.

(b) At one time more British emigrants came to Canada than went to the United States. Now, 70 per cent. or so go to the United States, and the remainder to Canada, Australia and South Africa. The late Earl Grey, Colonial Secretary many years ago, says in his "Lord John Russell's Colonial Policy" that this is no loss to England because American interests "are now so intimately bound up with our own that the emigrants from our shores, in augmenting the wealth and population of the United States, are in effect contributing to promote British trade and British prosperity."

